

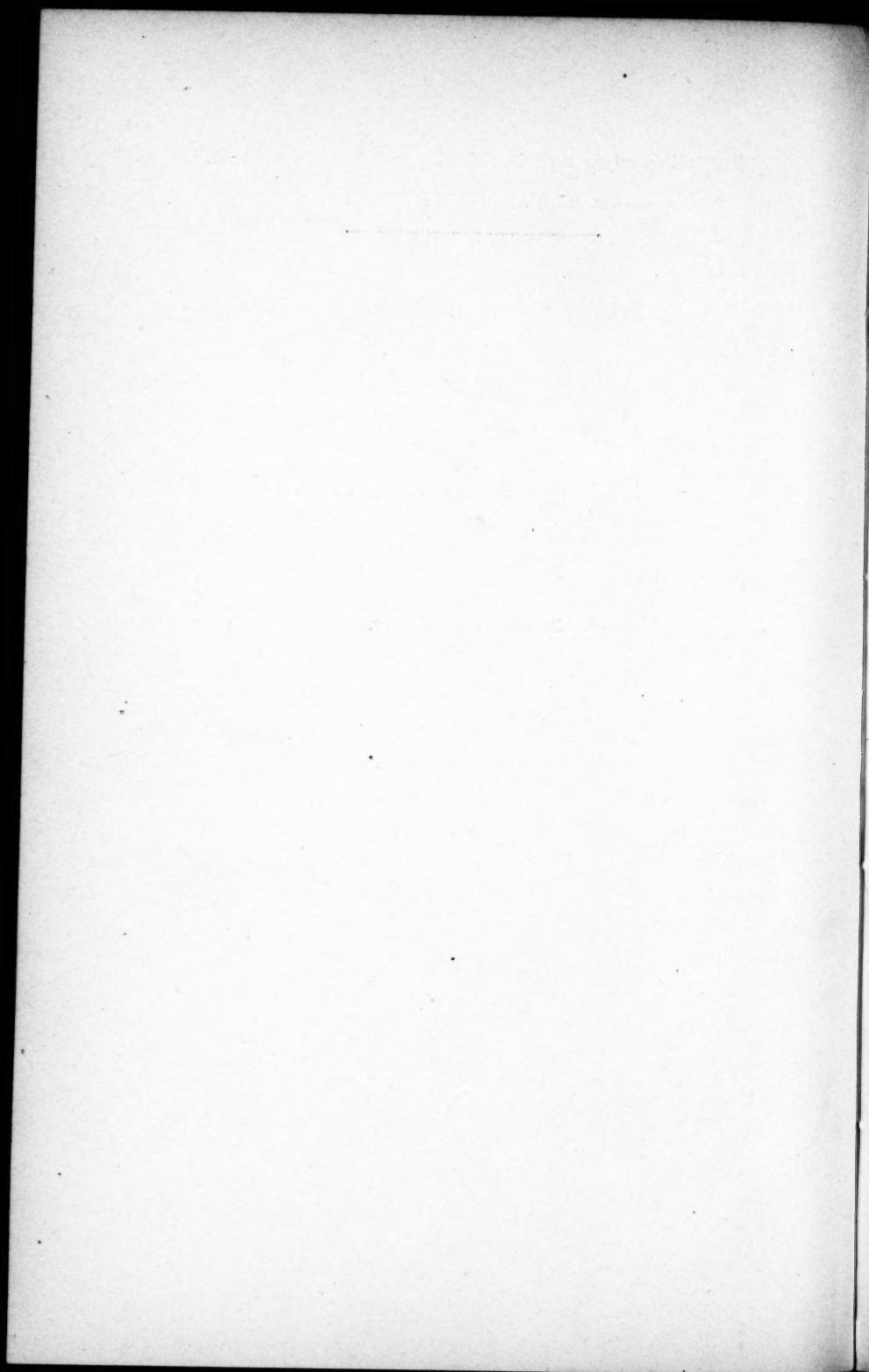
Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

VOL. XLIV. NO. 6 — JANUARY, 1909.

---

*THE PREFACE OF VITRUVIUS.*

BY MORRIS H. MORGAN.



## THE PREFACE OF VITRUVIUS

BY MORRIS H. MORGAN.

Presented November 11, 1908. Received November 4, 1908.

THAT the Latin treatise on architecture, extant under the name of Vitruvius in manuscripts of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and fifteenth centuries, is a genuine work, and that it was first published in the earlier half of the Augustan age,<sup>1</sup> are two propositions which ought no longer to be doubted. The theory that it is a forgery of the third, fourth, or even of a later century, — a theory propounded originally by Schultz<sup>2</sup> and supported much later by Ussing,<sup>3</sup> — has never been seriously entertained by many scholars, and it has been recently refuted on the grounds both of subject matter<sup>4</sup> and of language.<sup>5</sup> The ascription of the work to the time of the Emperor Titus is a much older idea. Suggested at first, apparently, in the seventeenth century,<sup>6</sup> it was discussed but rejected by the Spanish translator Ortiz;<sup>7</sup> it was supported by the English translator Newton<sup>8</sup> towards

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, **27**, 1292 ff. (1907), and Morgan, *Harvard Stud. in Cl. Philol.*, **17**, 9 ff. (1906). After the printing of this article had begun, I received L. Sontheimer's dissertation, *Vitruvius und seine Zeit*, Tübingen, 1908. I have added a few remarks upon it in footnotes 13, 18, 49, and 51.

<sup>2</sup> First in his letter to Goethe in 1829, published in *Rhein. Mus.*, **4**, 329 (1836); reprinted by his son, together with a much longer argument in *Untersuchung über das Zeitalter des . . . Vitruvius*, Leipzig, 1856.

<sup>3</sup> In Danish in 1896; more fully in English: *Observations on Vitruvius*, published in London by the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1898.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Degering, *Rhein. Mus.*, **57**, 8 ff. (1902); Krohn, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, **17**, 773 ff. (1897); and Schmidt, *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, **108**, 118 ff. (1901).

<sup>5</sup> Morgan, *Language of Vitruvius*, *These Proceedings*, **41**, 467 ff. (1906); cf. Hey in *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.*, **15**, 287 ff. (1907); Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, **27**, 1566 ff. (1907); Nohl, *Woch. Kl. Phil.*, **23**, 1252 ff. (1906).

<sup>6</sup> See Perrault's *Vitruve*, ed. 1673, note to *Vitr.*, 1 pr. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Madrid, 1787, preface.

<sup>8</sup> London, 1791, Vol. I, p. ix.

the end of the eighteenth, and it has been revived at the beginning of the twentieth century in a series of learned articles by M. Victor Mortet.<sup>9</sup> But what Degering has said <sup>10</sup> of the arguments of the last of these scholars applies equally well to the arguments of them all; many, taken by themselves, may show that our Vitruvius might possibly have been written in the Flavian period, but not one of them shows that it must have been written at that time, and none of them show that it could not have been written in the Augustan age.

On the other hand, strong evidence is not wanting that this work was produced early in the Augustan age, and that it could not have been produced later. Some of this evidence I have myself offered; <sup>11</sup> more is to be found in the writers whom I have already cited; and some new evidence I may present upon another occasion.

But in spite of it all, the preface which stands at the very opening of the work seems at first thought to contain words and ideas which belong only to a time when the Roman Empire had been established for a considerable period and when more than one emperor had already occupied the throne. In translations into modern languages, as well as in such commentaries as those of Newton, Schultz, Ussing, and Mortet, these words and ideas are so represented or expounded that the difficulty of applying them to an earlier age has seemed well-nigh insuperable to many scholars, and not merely to those who are approaching the critical study of Vitruvius for the first time. If, however, we are convinced that the earlier part of the Augustan age is a date which suits the rest of the work, it is obvious that this difficulty cannot be insuperable. To solve it we must rid ourselves of all those shades of meaning in language and all those novelties of thought which were imperial growths, and we must ask ourselves at every point whether the words and ideas in question are such as might well have been used by one who was brought up under the Republic and who wrote soon after its fall. If they are such, we must explain

<sup>9</sup> Rev. Archéologique, Ser. III. 41, 39 ff. (1902); Ser. IV, 3, 222 ff., 382 ff. (1904); 4, 265 ff. (1904); 8, 268 ff. (1906); 9, 75 ff. (1907); 10, 277 ff. (1907); 11, 101 ff. (1908). These articles contain much useful material for the study of Vitruvius.

<sup>10</sup> Berl. Phil. Woch., ib., 1468.

<sup>11</sup> Harvard Studies, 17, 9 ff. (1906). But M. Mortet (Rev. Phil., 31, 66 (1907)) has rightly observed that nothing can be proved from Vit. 243, 18, which I had quoted as evidence that Vitruvius could not have written after 22 B. C. For we do not know that Vitruvius was speaking only of the city of Rome in this passage. In the municipalities, aediles continued to serve as *curatores ludorum* long after praetors superseded them in Rome.



and translate them accordingly, and so the difficulty will disappear. In the present article, therefore, I propose to comment upon the preface line by line, and then to give an English translation of it. Having been engaged during the past six or seven years upon a translation (still unfinished) of the whole of Vitruvius, I have often had occasion to think of the points in question, and so perhaps I am not unqualified to deal with them. At the same time I am submitting a specimen of my methods to the criticism of scholars, for I do not intend to be so diffuse in my commentary when I come to publish my translation.

For the convenience of readers of this article, I begin by printing the Latin text from Rose's second edition, setting in the margin the page and line of his first edition, to which commentaries always now refer.

## TEXT.

Cum divina tua mens et numen, imperator Caesar, im-P.1,<sup>1</sup>  
 perio potiretur orbis terrarum invictaque virtute cunctis ho-  
 stibus stratis, triumpho victoriae tuae cives gloriarentur et  
 gentes omnes subactae tuum spectarent nutum populusque  
 Romanus et senatus liberatus timore amplissimis tuis cogi-  
 tationibus consiliisque gubernaretur, non audebam, tantis oc-  
 cupationibus, de architectura scripta et magnis cogitationibus  
 explicata edere, metuens ne non apto tempore interpellans  
 subirem tui animi offensionem. cum vero attenderem te non  
 solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei  
 constitutione habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedi-  
 ficiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta,  
 verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum  
 egregias haberet auctoritates, non putavi praetermittendum  
 quin primo quoque tempore de his rebus ea tibi ederem. ideo  
 quod primum parenti tuo de eo fueram notus et eius virtutis  
 studiosus. cum autem concilium caelestium in sedibus in-  
 P.2,<sup>1</sup> mortalitatis eum dedicavisset et imperium parentis in tuam  
 potestatem transtulisset, idem studium meum in eius memoria  
 permanens in te contulit favorem. itaque cum M. Aurelio  
 et P. Minidio et Gn. Cornelio ad apparationem ballistarum  
 et scorpionum reliquorumque tormentorum refectionem fui  
 praesto et cum eis commoda accepi. quae cum primo mihi  
 tribuisti, recognitionem per sororis commendationem servasti.  
 cum ergo eo beneficio essem obligatus ut ad exitum vitae  
 non haberem inopiae timorem, haec tibi scribere coepi quod

- <sup>10</sup> animadverti multa te aedificavisse et nunc aedificare, reliquo quoque tempore et publicorum et privatorum aedificiorum pro amplitudine rerum gestarum ut posteris memoriae tradantur curam habiturum. conscripsi praescriptiones terminatas, ut eas attendens et ante facta et futura qualia sint opera per
- <sup>15</sup> te posses nota habere. namque his voluminibus aperui omnes disciplinae rationes.

## COMMENTARY.

1. *divina tua mens et numen*: "your divine intelligence and will." It may be asked whether a writer of the earlier Augustan period would speak of or to the ruler in such language.<sup>12</sup> But the use of the adjective *divinus* and the substantive *numen* does not necessarily convey imperial ideas of deification or of the "divinity that doth hedge a king." In fact both words are applied to living Romans in republican Latin. Thus Cicero, speaking to Julius Caesar face to face, used the phrase *tua divina virtus* (Marc. 26); of Pompey he has *homo divina quadam mente* (Mil. 21), and *Pompei divino consilio* (Imp. P. 10); he speaks of the ancestors of the Romans as *homines divina mente et consilio praeditos* (L. A. 2, 90), and calls Marius and Africanus each a *divinum hominem* (Sest. 50; Arch. 16; Mur. 75). They were then dead, but to the living Octavian he was still more complimentary; cf. Phil. 5, 43, *hunc divinum adolescentem*; 13, 19, *Caesaris incredibilis ac divina virtus*; 5, 23, *C. Caesar divina animi magnitudine*; 3, 3, *adulescens, paene potius puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute*. And he does not withhold the adjective, with a celestial addition, from the men of certain legions when he says *caelestis divinasque legiones* (Phil. 5, 28). As for *numen*, that it does not necessarily imply actual deification or imperial ideas is clear from Cicero again, as where he is speaking to the Roman people: *numen vestrum aequae mihi grave et sanctum ac deorum immortalium in omni vita futurum* (Post Red. 18, cf. 25, *cum vobis qui apud me deorum immortalium vim et numen tenetis*); and similarly Phil. 3, 32, *magna vis est, magnum numen unum et idem sentientis senatus*. In these passages *numen* implies no more than in Lucretius, 3, 144, *cetera pars animae . . . ad numen mentis momenumque movetur*. It means no more than "will," although it is a very strong word to

<sup>12</sup> See Wölfflin in Archiv. für Lat. Lex., 10, 301 (1896), where in commenting on Ussing's first article he says: "Beispielweise muss man zu bestimmen suchen ob der Vf., wenn er unter Augustus lebte, der Kaiser in der Vorrede anreden konnte mit der Worte *divina tua mens et numen*."

use in that sense; cf. Paul. Fest. 172, *numen quasi nutus dei ac potestas*. In view of all this a writer of the earlier part of the Augustan age may well have applied *divina mens et numen* to the all-powerful ruler, and we need not here raise the question whether he was already receiving divine worship. In another passage (233, 4) Vitruvius uses the phrase *divina mens* of the intelligence of learned men who could predict changes in the weather; he has it also four times referring to "divine Providence" (138, 10; 184, 17; 218, 19; 231, 18); and the adjective *divinus* is applied to qualities of the gods in two other places (185, 7; 245, 6). He does not use the word *numen* except in our passage.

*imperator Caesar*: Here two questions come up for consideration: (1) whether Augustus, after he had received that name, was addressed by any other; (2) whether there is any English word by which *imperator* in this passage can be properly translated. As for the first question, it is generally believed that Vitruvius was aware that the name Augustus <sup>13</sup> had been bestowed, and this leads Ussing <sup>14</sup> to assert that an inferior like Vitruvius could not have avoided addressing him by that

---

<sup>13</sup> This belief rests on the usual interpretation of 107, 3, *pronaî aedis Augusti*, where the name seems to be recognized. But Sontheimer (see above, note 1) holds that we have here merely the adjective *augusti* agreeing with *pronaî*, and that consequently the phrase means something like "a majestic temple-pronaos." He thinks that there was no "temple" built at the rear of this pronaos, but that the structure consisted of a pronaos only, containing the tribunal. This theory is attractive, but I have not yet had time fully to weigh it. Some objections, which may not be insuperable, readily suggest themselves. But in this article I need only say that the disappearance of the name *Augusti* would strengthen my arguments in support of this preface as an early production. As for the reading *angusti*, found in cod. S. (in general, as Degering, Berl. Phil. Woch., 20, 9 ff. (1900), has shown, of the same independent value as H and G), I cannot accept this reading in spite of Krohn (Berl. Phil. Woch., 17, 781 (1897)). It is improbable that Vitruvius should have spoken of a temple here without naming the divinity to whom it was dedicated. Cod. H, which I have seen, and Cod. G, of which I have a photograph of this page, both have *augusti*. Cod. E does not contain the passage. The reading *angusti* is, however, found in several of the late manuscripts. In Florence I have seen it in Codd. Laur., 30, 11; 12; 13; also in Cod. XVII, 5, of the Bibl. Naz. Centrale (though here the corrector gives *augusti*); and in Venice in Cod. Marc. CCCCLXIII. Of these five manuscripts, the first three belong to the class of H (lacuna in 2, 18) and the other two to the class of G and S. On the other hand, Cod. Laur. 30, 10, which Degering (ibid.) says comes directly from S, has *augusti*. It does indeed belong to the class of G and S. In Rome I observed that Cod. Urb. 293, and also the Vallicellanus (both of the G and S class) have *augusti*.

<sup>14</sup> Observations, 10.

name. To this it might be rejoined that perhaps the use of the name did not at once become common, and that the absence of it here in Vitruvius points to a date soon after the name was conferred in 27 B. C. But we need not have recourse to this argument; for what are the facts about the use of this name by persons who were speaking or writing to Augustus and employing, as Vitruvius does, the vocative case? The answer is that we know very little about the matter,<sup>15</sup> for we have very little evidence upon which to base a conclusion. We know that Valerius Messala once addressed him in the Senate with the words *Caesar Auguste* (Suet. Aug. 58). We find *Auguste* once in Horace in a formal public ode (4, 14, 3), but *Caesar* in an ode equally formal and public, and published at the same time as the other (4, 15, 4). In view of this, what is to be thought of Ussing's contention that in one of his Epistles (2, 1, 4) Horace as an intimate friend may quite suitably use *Caesar*, his family name? If we turn to Propertius, we find *Auguste* twice (3, 10, 15; 5, 6, 38), and never *Caesar* in the vocative. This might seem to support Ussing's theory. But we must not forget Ovid. In the longest poem of the *Tristia* he has *Auguste* once (2, 509), but *Caesar* in the vocative five times (27; 209; 323; 551; 560). He uses *Auguste* in only one other passage in his works (M. 1, 204), but he has *Caesar* in the vocative seven times besides those already mentioned in the *Tristia* (F. 2, 637; Tr. 3, 1, 78; 5, 5, 61, all three in prayers, which are formal things; Tr. 4, 2, 47; 5, 11, 23; P. 2, 7, 67; 4, 9, 128). This is all the evidence that I have been able to find.<sup>16</sup> It is little enough, and it includes only one prose example, but we must remember how small is the amount of Augustan prose that has survived to us. In view of it all, we are not entitled to criticise Vitruvius for using *Caesar* instead of *Auguste*. Elsewhere he addresses his patron six times with the vocative *Caesar* (11, 1; 83, 18; 104, 22; 133, 6; 158, 8; 218, 13), and five times with the vocative *imperator* (32, 22; 64, 16; 83, 13; 103, 1; 243, 19). In our preface he combines the two in *imperator Caesar*. His patron had been an *imperator* ever since 43 or 42 B. C. (cf. Cic. Phil. 14, 28, and 37; CIL. 9, 2142), and long after the name *Augustus* was given to him his inscriptions regularly begin with the words *imperator Caesar*. It seems perfectly natural that he should be addressed in this way by one who had served in the army. But can the word *imperator* as thus used be translated

<sup>15</sup> It has been briefly treated by Friedländer, S. G. 2, 557 (sixth edition), but he does not include Ovid and Propertius in his examination.

<sup>16</sup> It may be interesting to note that Martial addresses the reigning emperor of his day as *Auguste* nine times and as *Caesar* fifty-one times; cf. Friedländer's edition, 2, index, p. 371.

into English? I think not. If we employ "emperor," it carries with it later Roman and modern ideas. And even if it did not, "emperor Caesar" in the vocative is not idiomatic English. Nobody would say "Emperor William" to the Kaiser, though we use the phrase when we speak about him. The word "general" sometimes suits an *imperator* of the republican period, but by no means always, since its scope is too narrow. And to print "General Caesar" here would certainly be an absurdity. The word *imperator*, therefore, cannot be translated here, but must be transliterated like other Roman titles, such as "consul" and "praetor."

2. *imperio orbis terrarum*: "the right to command the world." There is nothing necessarily "imperial" in this expression, any more than in *Ad Herenn.* 4, 13, cited below on *imperium transtulisset* (2, 1); cf. Vitruvius, 138, 11, cited below on *potiretur*. And the word *imperium*, aside from its technical sense when applied to a high military official (cf. Cic. Phil. 5, 45, *demus imperium Caesari, sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest*), had also the general meaning of "right to rule," "supreme power," from Plautus down. Cf. Plaut. Men. 1030, *iubeo hercle, siquid imperist in te mihi*; Caes. B. G. 7, 64, 8, *civitati imperium totius provinciae pollicetur*; Cic. Font. 12, *sub populi Romani imperium dicionemque ceciderunt*.

*potiretur*: "engaged in acquiring." This is a true imperfect in sense, as in 31, 7, *cum Alexander rerum potiretur*, though in 161, 13, *cum Demetrius Phalereus Athenis rerum potiretur*, it has no doubt a completed meaning. With *orbis terrarum imperium* it occurs also in 138, 11, *ita divina mens civitatem populi Romani egregia temperataque regionem conlocavit, uti orbis terrarum imperii potiretur*. True imperfects are also *gloriarentur* (line 3), *spectarent* (4), and *gubernaretur* (6) in our preface, like the main verb *audebam* (6). For such imperfect subjunctives combined with the imperfect indicative, where the *cum* clause, coincident in time, is circumstantial, cf. Vit. 156, 26; 250, 16; 251, 14 and 21; 283, 9; Cic. D. N. 1, 59, *Zenonem cum Athenis essem, audiebam frequenter*; Fin. 2, 61, *Decius cum se devoveret, . . . cogitabat?* The circumstances to which Vitruvius refers are of course the struggle with Caesar's murderers, and then with Antony, ending with Actium, the conquest of Egypt, the days of formal triumphs in Rome, and the beginning of the rule of Octavian there. This passage shows that Vitruvius's work could not have been published before August 13-15 (the days of the triple triumph) in 29 B. C.

4. *tuum spectarent nutum*: "awaiting your nod," "your beck and call." Vitruvius has *nutus* elsewhere only in its literal sense (33, 22),



but this metaphorical sense is common enough in republican writers; cf. Cic. Parad. 5, 39, *quem nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat*; Q. F. 1, 1, 22, *tot urbes tot civitates unius hominis nutum intuentur*. The verb *specto*, though common in Vitruvius, is found only here in this particular sense, but it may be paralleled from Cicero; cf. Verr. 2, 33, *cum iudex . . . voluntatem spectaret eius*, etc.; Q. F. 1, 1, 35, *non legem spectare censoriam*; RA. 22, *omnes in unum spectent*.

*populusque Romanus et senatus*: for this unusual order cf. Cic. Fam. 15, 2, 4; Sall. Jug. 41, 2, and Weissenborn on Liv. 7, 31, 10. Vitruvius has elsewhere the usual order (20, 17; 176, 17).

*cogitationibus*: "conceptions," so in Vit. 34, 9; 103, 1; 161, 3; 216, 24. Somewhat similarly "ideas," 31, 7 and 23; 36, 9; 156, 1; "notions," 103, 20; "devices," 137, 12; 138, 9; 269, 9; other shades of meaning are "consideration," 215, 20; "reflection," 1, 7; 12, 4 and 5; "deliberation," 15, 2; "power of thought," 36, 4; 132, 11; and in the phrase *cogitatio scripturae*, 263, 9, like our "thread of the discourse." On Vitruvius's use of the plural of this and other abstracts I have written elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

6. *tantis occupationibus*: "in view of your serious employments." The phrase may be either an ablative absolute (so with Rose's punctuation) or a dat. incommodi. With most commentators I take *occupationibus* as referring to Augustus, though Schneider refers it to Vitruvius.

7. *de architectura scripta et magnis cogitationibus explicata*: "my writings and long-considered ideas on architecture," or literally "things written and set forth with long reflection." For *cogitatio* in this sense, cf. 12, 5, *cogitatio est cura, studii plena et industriae vigilantiaque, effectus propositi cum voluptate*. For *magnis*, "great," in the sense of "much," "long" (not "grand" or "important"), cf. 214, 7, *quod magno labore fabri normam facientes perducere possunt*, "the result which carpenters reach very laboriously with their squares." This is like the vulgar use shown in Bell. Hisp. 12, *magnum tempus consumpserunt*; cf. Justin, 11, 10, 14, *magno post tempore* (see Schmalz, *Antibarbarus* s. v. *magnus*). Somewhat similar are *magno negotio* in Caes. B. G. 5, 11, 2 (cf. Bell. Alex. 8), and *magna industria*, Sall. Hist. 4, 2 M. The phrase *de architectura . . . explicata* does not necessarily signify that Vitruvius's book was finished before the time indicated in the next sentence, and that it was merely slightly revised before being dedicated to his patron and published.<sup>18</sup> If there is any

<sup>17</sup> Language of Vitruvius (cited above in Note 5), p. 473.

<sup>18</sup> This is the theory of Krohn, Berl. Phil. Woch., 17, 773 f. (1897), and Dietrich, *Quaestionum Vitruvianarum Specimen*, answered by Degering, Berl. Phil.

particular force beyond the natural logic of the Latin language to be attached to the perfect tenses of *scripta* and *explicata*, Vitruvius may refer merely to his preliminary collections and studies, and perhaps especially to what he elsewhere sometimes calls *commentarii*, — the notes and abstracts made by himself and other architects in the course of their professional studies: cf. 3, 17, *litteras architectum scire oportet uti commentariis memoriam firmiorem efficere possit*; 132, 27, *philologis et philotechnis rebus commentariorumque scripturis me delectans*. With regard to *magnis cogitationibus*, Ussing and Mortet<sup>19</sup> are troubled because they take *magnis* in the sense of "grand" or "lofty," and feel that Vitruvius would be presumptuous in applying much the same language to his own thoughts and to those of Augustus (cf. *amplissimis tuis cogitationibus* just above). Mortet therefore proposes to take *magnis cogitationibus* with *edere* in the same construction (presumably dative) as *tantis occupationibus*, and he translates as follows: "Je n'osais pas mettre au jour pour vous mes écrits sur l'architecture à cause de vos si grandes occupations, ni vous soumettre mes commentaires sur cet art, alors que vous avez de grands soucis de gouvernement." But strange as Vitruvius may often be in his methods of expressing himself, I know of no other passage in his whole work that is so distorted in arrangement as this one would be if we accept the explanation of Mortet, who indeed does not pretend to have found any parallel for it. His other explanation, that perhaps *et* before *magnis* means "even," is not happier nor is either explanation necessary.

10. *publicae rei constitutione*: "the establishment of public order"; cf. Cic. Marc. 27, *hic restat actus, in hoc elaborandum est, ut rem publicam constituas*.

11. *de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum*: "public buildings intended for utilitarian purposes." Here *opportunitate* must be interpreted by Vitruvius's own definition of the word in 15, 9 ff: *publicorum autem distributiones sunt tres, e quibus est una defensionis, altera religionis, tertia opportunitatis. . . . Opportunitatis communium locorum ad usum publicum dispositio, uti portus fora porticus balineae theatra inambulationes ceteraque quae isdem rationibus in publicis locis designantur*, that is: "there are three classes of public buildings,

---

Woch., 27, 1372 (1907). Sontheimer (see above, note 1) revives it in a somewhat different form, holding that the work was ready in 32 B. C., but that publication was delayed until some time between August of the year 29 and January of the year 27, when it was published with the addition of the prefaces to the various books, but without any other additions.

<sup>19</sup> Rev. Arch., 41, 46 (1902).



the first for defensive, the second for religious, and the third for utilitarian purposes. . . . Under utility, the provision of meeting places for public use, such as harbors, markets, colonnades, baths, theatres, promenades, and all other similar arrangements in public places." With this compare the use of the same word in 128, 22, and 134, 9.

12. *ut civitas . . . auctoritates*: "so that not only should the State have been enriched with provinces by your means, but that the greatness of its power might likewise be attended with distinguished authority in its public buildings." Here *civitas*, the main subject, is thrust forward, and *maiestas imperii*, "the greatness of its power," refers to it. This phrase does not mean "the majestic empire," nor does it necessarily convey any other idea inconsistent with republican times, for it is found in Cicero, R. A. 131, *Sullam, cum solus republicam gubernaret imperique maiestatem quam armis receperat, iam legibus confirmaret*. For another example of *maiestas* referring literally to size, cf. Vitr. 52, 18, *in ea autem maiestate urbis et civium infinita frequentia*.

*provinciis esset aucta*: If strictly interpreted, the completed tense *esset aucta* seems to show that the provinces had already been added, while the following *haberet* may indicate that the buildings were not yet finished. Egypt became a province in 30 B. C., and Cyprus in 27 B. C. while Moesia was at least an administrative district as early as 29 B. C.<sup>20</sup>

14. *auctoritates*: Here Mortet<sup>21</sup> has this note: "Vitruve revient à plusieurs reprises, à propos d'édifices, sur ce qu'il appelle des modèles d'architecture, *auctoritas, auctoritates aedificii*, c'est-à-dire conformes aux règles de l'art et aux meilleures traditions architectoniques (Voy. l'Index de Nohl, v° *auctoritas*)." That is to say, he would render *publicorum aedificiorum egregias auctoritates* by some such phrase as "unsurpassed models of public buildings."<sup>22</sup> But I have carefully examined all the occurrences cited in Nohl's Index, and do not find one in which the word means "a model" or "models." It occurs twenty times besides here. In nine, it is applied to scholars or architects or to their writings, and it signifies their "influence" or "authority" (2, 26; 3, 3; 11, 9; 62, 25; 63, 8; 103, 4 and 5; 173, 19; 218, 12). In one, it refers to the severe dignity of a certain kind

<sup>20</sup> On all these, see Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw.,<sup>2</sup> I, pp. 439, 391, 302. The existence of Galatia and Pamphylia as provinces cannot be certified before 25 B. C. (Marquardt, ib., 358, 375).

<sup>21</sup> Rev. Arch., 41, 58, n. 1 (1902).

<sup>22</sup> Marini in his note to the passage had already rendered the word by *exempla*, without citing any parallels.

of music (111, 18). In the other ten passages it refers to buildings, and denotes their dignity or imposing effect (e. g., 72, 22, *conservavit auctoritatem totius operis*, and cf. 12, 25; 72, 1; 73, 1; 81, 11; 107, 26; 154, 17; 161, 15; 162, 4; 175, 5). So Turnebus, *Advers.* 1195, 45, explains our passage by "*dignitates et pulchritudines.*"

*non putavi*: On this phrase I have already written elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> Schmalz in a private letter to me compares the Ciceronian use of *nego, nolo, veto* (*Acad.* 2, 121; *Mur.* 59; *Off.* 1, 30), where the negative idea does not really belong to the main verb.

15. *de his rebus ea*: "my writings on this theme." Here *ea* refers to *scripta et explicata* in line 7, though the identity should not be too closely pressed; nor should *his rebus* be thought of as referring only to *publicorum aedificiorum*, since it includes also the ideas expressed in *opportunitate* and *egregias auctoritates*. Hence it must be rendered generally, as I have suggested in the phrase "this theme."

*ideo quod*: For this phrase used at the beginning of a sentence like a particle of inference, cf. *Vitr.* 88, 21. I do not know any other exact parallel.

16. *parenti tuo*: i. e. Julius Caesar, here and two lines below, called the *parens* of the person to whom Vitruvius writes, while in 203, 13, the word *pater*<sup>24</sup> is used of him. But nothing is to be argued seriously from the different words,<sup>25</sup> since fortunately Augustus himself in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* calls his adopted father both *parens* (1, 10) and *pater* (2, 24; 3, 7; 4, 14). It may be convenient to assemble here the other passages in which Vitruvius refers to Julius Caesar. There are two of them. In one he calls him *divus Caesar* (59, 18); four lines further *imperator* (59, 22), and a little below simply *Caesar* (60, 4). In that passage he is relating an anecdote about a campaign in the Alps. In the other passage, where he is giving examples of pycnostyle temples, we find the clause *quemadmodum est divi Iulii et in Caesaris foro Veneris* (70, 18). Both these passages, therefore, like the words which follow in the preface which we are studying, show that Vitruvius

<sup>23</sup> Language of Vitruvius, p. 487.

<sup>24</sup> Retaining, as I think we must, the reading *patre Caesare* (so Mortet, *Rev. Arch.*, 41, 69 (1902); Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 27, 1468 (1907)), instead of Rose's emendation *patre Caesari*. The word *patre* is inserted here by Vitruvius for fear that readers should think he meant the living Caesar (Augustus); so Cicero, *Phil.*, 5, 49, *utinam C. Caesari, patri dico, contigisset*, etc.; *ib.* 39, *Pompeio enim patre*.

<sup>25</sup> Though Degering (l. c.), arguing against Mortet's hypothesis, suggests that *parens* is a more appropriate term for the adoptive father and uncle of Augustus than for the actual father of Titus.

wrote after the deification of Julius, which took place by decree not long after his death (Plut. Caes. 67; cf. CIL. 1, 626; 9, 2628).

*de eo*: The singular *eo* is used rather loosely here after *ea* and *his rebus*, but "that thing" can mean nothing except architecture, so that there is no danger of confusion here any more than in Cic. Att. 9, 10, 10, *perlegi omnes tuas (litteras) et in eo acquievi*. As for the use of causal *de*, I have defended it against Ussing's strictures in another place.<sup>26</sup>

*fuera* *notus*: On this use of *fuera* with the pf. partic., see Landgraf, Hist. Gramm., Heft 1, 220 ff., who says that it is found ten times in Vitruvius against seven occurrences of the regular formation with *eram*.

*eius virtutis studiosus*: This awkwardness of the dependence of one genitive (*eius*) upon another (*virtutis*) is found elsewhere in Vitruvius: cf. *a leone transiens in virginem progrediensque ad sinum vestis eius* (227, 9); *timore eorum fortitudinis effectus*, "for fear of the effect of their courage" (three genitives! 5, 7). The expression "devoted to his *virtus*," though logically correct in Latin, means in idiomatic English, "devoted to him on account of his *virtus*," and in this way I have rendered it. In cod. S, cod. Estensis,<sup>27</sup> and in eight codd. of Marini, as well as in the Venetian edition of 1497, the word *erat* stands between *virtutis* and *studiosus*. If this meant anything, it would mean that Julius Caesar, "was interested in the excellence of architecture" (*eius* referring to *eo*, and cf. 64, 15, *nostrae scientiae virtutem*). But *studiosus* is resumed just below (2, 2) by *idem studium meum*, so that the reading *erat* hardly deserves further attention. The word *virtutis* in this clause is not to be confined to military valor (as in 1, 2), nor to moral worth, but is used in a much more general sense; hence I have rendered it by "great qualities."

17. *concilium caelestium*: cf. Cic. Off. 3, 25, *Herculem quem hominum fama in concilio caelestium collocavit*. But as Schneider notes: "satis dextre adulatur Octaviano Vitruvius, dum patrem non a Romanis inter deorum numerum relatum, sed ab ipso deorum concilio allectum et dedicatum fuisse ait." Vitruvius uses *caelestes* as a substantive again in 102, 22; cf. Cic. Phil. 4, 10.

Page 2, 1. *imperium parentis in tuam potestatem transtulisset*: "transferred your father's power to your hands." Here Mortet<sup>28</sup> has this observation: "La manière dont Vitruve parle de la translation

<sup>26</sup> Language of Vitruvius, p. 485.

<sup>27</sup> See Sola, Riv. d. Biblioteche, 11, 35 ff. (1900).

<sup>28</sup> Rev. Arch., 41, 47 (1902).

de la dignité impériale appelle aussi une remarque qui n'est pas sans intérêt. Ce n'est pas à Auguste, pensons-nous avec W. Newton, que Vitruve aurait parlé d'une translation régulière de l'empire. Le langage de l'auteur de la Préface s'applique à une époque où l'on était déjà habitué à des changements réguliers dans la première fonction de l'État: Auguste ne l'aurait point toléré pour des raisons politiques qu'il est facile de comprendre." But it is a pure assumption that Vitruvius is speaking of "a regular transmission of the empire," and the very use of the word "empire" in this connection is a part of the difficulty created, as I have suggested above, by modern commentators and not really existing in the Latin of Vitruvius. I have already pointed out (in my note on 1, 2) the republican meaning of *imperium*. Julius Caesar had *imperium*, and we know that Octavian received it in 43 or 42 B. C. (see on 1, 1). The language of our preface is therefore no more "imperial" than is the language of the unknown republican orator in Ad Herennium, 4, 13: *imperium orbis terrae . . . ad se transferre*; cf. Caes. B. G. 7, 63, 5, *ut ipsis summa imperi transferretur*. The verb *transfero* was the regular one to use of transfers of power; cf. Cic. L. A. 2, 54, *earum rerum omnium potestatem ad decemviros esse translatam*; Mur. 2, *cum omnis deorum immortalium potestas aut translata sit ad vos*; and Mon. Ancy. 6, 15, *republicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli*. When we get down to Tacitus we do indeed find: *suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum, et transtulerunt* (H. 1, 25). But there was nothing "regular" in this transfer!

2. *idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens*: These words should not be separated with Mortet,<sup>29</sup> who punctuates thus: *idem studium meum, in eius memoria, permanens in te, contulit favorem*, and translates, "Le même zèle que j'avais de sons temps, subsistant envers vous, m'a apporté votre faveur." He compares 63, 12, *aeterna memoria ad posteritatem sunt permanentes*. But I believe that the idea which Vitruvius was struggling to express was this: "While Caesar was among us, I was devoted to his person; now that he is gone, my devotion continuing unchanged as I remembered him," etc. He expresses it obscurely, but for a somewhat similar use of *in memoria*, cf. Cic. Att. 9, 11 A, 3, *pius . . . in maximi beneficii memoria*, "loyal as I remember my extreme obligation"; and for the mere syntax of *permanens* with *in* and the ablative, cf. for instance Cic. Fam. 5, 2, 10, *ut in mea erga te voluntate permanerem*, and Quint. 3, 4, 4, *mihî in illa vetere persuasione permanenti*. Ussing<sup>30</sup> renders the phrase thus:

<sup>29</sup> Rev. Arch., 41, 49 (1902).

<sup>30</sup> Observations, p. 9.

"this ardor of mine in clinging to his memory"; but even if *in memoria* is really Latin in this sense (which may be doubted), it is surely not in accordance with the usage of Vitruvius. He has the word *memoria* sixteen times besides here. In six passages it denotes literally the faculty of memory (3, 18; 7, 23; 10, 10; 103, 22; 104, 11; 157, 12). In five, it refers to the future, — to the record which one is to leave for posterity, as in the phrase *posteris memoriae tradi* (cf. 2, 12; 4, 22; 63, 12; 155, 11 and 19). Once it means "fame" (63, 18); twice we have the common *nostra memoria*, "in our time" (162, 7; 251, 3), and once *post nostram memoriam* (218, 4).<sup>31</sup> Finally there is a peculiar usage of the plural, probably in the sense of "history" (217, 20). It is obvious that the idea of "remembering" and of "memory" in the literal sense is the prevalent meaning in Vitruvius, and so I have taken it in our passage.

3. *in te contulit favorem*: Schneider has this note: "Displicet in sermone Vitruvii *favor*, quem is transtulit ad filium, cum potius ex nostrorum hominum sensu petere ab Octaviano deberet, ut is in memoria patris permanens ad Vitruvium favorem transferret." And Ussing<sup>32</sup> translates: "This ardor of mine has transferred its favor to thee," and then he remarks upon the idea as "coarse and out of taste." These criticisms seem based upon a mistaken notion of the meaning of the Latin word *favor*. It is not at all a common word, particularly in republican Latin. It is not found in Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Caesar, or Nepos. Cooper<sup>33</sup> speaks of it as one of the seven substantives in *-or* that are found in Cicero and not in earlier writers. In its meaning it is very restricted; indeed, it is almost technical until well on in the imperial period, and the English word "favor" is consequently an exceedingly unfortunate one to employ in the translation of it. In republican and early imperial times it appears to be confined to the theatrical and political spheres, in which it denotes the "applause" or "support" which is given to an actor or to a politician by his well wishers. Cicero uses it only four times. In *Rosc. Com.* 29, speaking of the actor Panurgus, he says: *quam enim spem et expectationem, quod studium et quem favorem secum in scaenam attulit Panurgus, quod Rosci fuit discipulus. Qui diligebant hunc, illi favebant.* And in *Sest.* 115, in a passage where he is speaking of expressions of popular opinion at theatrical or other shows, we find: *qui rumore et, ut ipsi loquuntur, favore populi tenetur*

<sup>31</sup> These last three occurrences really afford no support to Mortet's strange interpretation of *in eius memoria*.

<sup>32</sup> Observations, 9 f.

<sup>33</sup> Word Formation in the *Sermo Plebeius*, 25.



*et ducitur.* Here the use of the technical term *favore* is excused by *ut ipsi loquuntur*. And similarly in the very significant quotation by Quintilian (8, 3, 34) from a lost letter of Cicero's we have "*favorem*" et "*urbanum*" Cicero nova credit. Nam et in epistula ad Brutum eum, inquit, amorem et eum, ut hoc verbo utar, favorem in consilium advocabo. Obviously Cicero is here transferring the theatrical usage of the word to the political sphere.<sup>34</sup> And the same is true of the fourth passage in which he employs it, Legg. 2, 11, *quae (leges) sunt varie et ad tempus discriptae populis, favore magis quam re legum nomen tenent.* This same idea is found in the author who is the next to employ the word, Sallust: cf. J. 13, 7, *in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis*; J. 73, 4, *generis humilitas favorem addiderat* (said of Marius). So in Livy, who perhaps has the word only once, we find *regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis* (3, 33, 7). And finally I may cite Vell. Pat. 2, 54, 2, *ingens partium eius (Pompei) favor bellum excitaverat Africanum*; cf. also 2, 43, 3; 89, 1; 92, 4. In none of these authors is there anything like the condescending tone which is often implied by the English word "favor" or the German "Gunst," and which is what gives offence to Ussing and Schneider. But we may go further and observe that the same restricted interpretation will usually hold good in republican Latin for the related words *fautor* and *javeo*. The theatrical sense of *fautor* (in the form *favitor*) comes out very clearly three times in the prologue to the *Amphitruo* of Plautus (67; 78; 79).<sup>35</sup> It denotes a political supporter in Cic. Fam. 1, 9, 11, *cuius (Pompei) dignitatis ego ab adolescentia fautor*; cf. 10, 12, 5; Att. 1, 16, 11. In the orations of Cicero it occurs nine times in this sense: e. g., *nobilitatis fautor* (R. A. 16); *fautores Antoni* (Phil. 12, 2). So Sallust, H. 3, 88 (M.), *Pompeius . . . sermone fautorum similem fore se credens Alexandro*; cf. J. 15, 2, *fautores legatorum*. And Livy uses it in the sense of "partisans" in 1, 48, 2, *clamor ab utrisque fautoribus oritur*. The verb *javeo* occurs earlier than either *favor* or *fautor*. It is found in Naevius (ap. Non. 205, 27), but here we have not context enough to help us to its meaning. In another fragment (ap. Front. Ep. II, 10, p. 33 Nab.), which begins *regum filius linguis javeant*, the verb seems already to convey the idea of "support." This comes out clearly in Ennius, Ann. 291 (Vahlen) *Romanis Iuno*

<sup>34</sup> See Holden in his edition of *Pro Sestio*, 115, where he gives a note by Reid. And for further illustration cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 9; C. 4, 8, 26; Verg. A. 5, 343.

<sup>35</sup> In two fragments of Lucilius we have not enough of the context to assure us of the exact meaning of the word. But see Marx on frag. 269 f., and cf. 902.

*coepit placata favere*; and the theatrical usage seems to me to appear in Ann. 419, *matronae moeros complent spectare faventes*. In Terence, Eun. 916, *illi faveo virgini* is said by a "supporter" (though not political) of the maiden in question, and in Andr. Prol. 24, *favete, adeste aequo animo*, we have again the theatrical meaning of "applaud." But when we reach the classical period, the political meaning is very prominent. Caesar uses the verb five times, and always in this sense: e. g., B. C. 2, 18, 6, *provinciam omnem Caesaris rebus favere cognoverat* (cf. 1, 7, 1; 1, 28, 1; B. G. 6, 7, 7; 1, 18, 8). See also Cicero, Fam. 12, 7, 1, *favebam et rei publicae, cui semper favi, et dignitati tuae* (cf. 10, 1, 3, and 3, 2; Att. 12, 49, 1). And in his orations, Cicero employs the verb some twenty-five times in this sense: <sup>36</sup> e. g., Sest. 21, *omnes boni semper nobilitati favemus*; cf. Planc. 18. Sallust uses *faveo* in the political sense in Cat. 17, 6, *iuventus pleraque Catilinae inceptis favebant*; cf. 48, 1; J. 85, 5. Finally I may cite Vell. Pat. 2, 26, 2, *faventis* (acc. pl.) *Sullae partibus*. In view of all this, I think that it should be granted that when Vitruvius uses the word in our passage,<sup>37</sup> he is thinking of this technical political sense. He had served under Julius Caesar and was devoted (*studiosus*) to him. When Caesar was gone, "my devotion, continuing unchanged as I remembered him (*idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens*), bestowed its support upon you (*in te contulit favorem*)." This is a literal translation of the passage. Vitruvius may take a clumsy way of saying "inclined me to support you," but certainly no statesman to-day or in antiquity would see anything coarse or out of taste in an author's recalling the fact that, at a critical period, he had lent that statesman his support. And this interpretation of the passage involves no distortion of the plain intent of the Latin; for the construction and meaning of *in te contulit favorem* is illustrated by Cic. Fam. 13, 50, 2, *in me officia et studia Brundisi contulisti*; cf. Att. 1, 1, 4; Fam. 10, 1, 3; 15, 2, 8.<sup>38</sup> The usage of Vitruvius himself offers us no exact parallel,<sup>39</sup> but many

<sup>36</sup> In the theatrical sense he employs it (as well as the substantive *favor*) in R. C., 29, which I have already quoted (p. 162).

<sup>37</sup> He has it nowhere else, nor *faveo*, nor *fautor*.

<sup>38</sup> Mortet, Rev. Arch., 41, 50 (1902), has this note: "La vraie forme classique serait ici *conciliavit* et l'on attendrait même plutôt à *attulit* qu'à *contulit*." But the difference between *contulit* and *attulit* is excellently shown by Cic. Fam., 10, 5, 1, *itaque commemoratio tua paternae necessitudinis benevolentiaeque eius quam erga me a pueritia contulisses, ceterarumque rerum . . . incredibilem mihi laetitiam attulerunt*. However, Mortet is supporting a different translation for our passage, of which I shall speak later (p. 165).

<sup>39</sup> The nearest is 159, 12, *quibus felicitas maximum summumque contulit munus*, where we have the dative instead of *in* and the accusative. Else-



examples similar to those which I have cited are given in the new Thesaurus s. v. *confero* (184, 30-72) under the lemma "beneficia sim. in aliquem conferre."<sup>40</sup> There is, however, an entirely different interpretation of *in te contulit favorem* which should be mentioned here, although I consider it erroneous. It has the support of Newton, Gwilt, Reber, and Mortet. Newton translates: "procured me thy favor"; Gwilt: "has been the cause of your goodwill towards me"; Reber: "mir auch Deine Gunst erworben hat"; Mortet: "m'apporté votre faveur." It will be observed that these versions, all practically the same, are probably due in the first instance to that misconception of the meaning of the word *favorem* to which I have already referred. But even taking *favorem* in its correct sense and extending it a little so as to apply to Augustus's "support" of Vitruvius, I do not see how *in te contulit favorem* can mean "acquired" or "procured me thy support." There are some examples of the use of *confero* gathered in the Thesaurus (175, 16 ff.) under the lemma "iungendo efficere aliquid, componere, acquirere," but, after a careful examination of them, I do not find one which confirms that meaning here, and to adopt it would oblige us to take *te* as ablative, not accusative, which in this context seems impossible. Marini evidently felt this strongly, for he emended *in te* to *in me*. At first thought, the following *itaque* might seem logically to call for this interpretation. Perhaps it would, if *itaque fui praesto* must be rendered "hence I have been appointed" (Gwilt, cf. Terquem, p. 76); but there is nothing of this sort necessarily implied in *praesto*. Vitruvius merely says: "I became one of your supporters, and hence I was ready," etc.

*Aurelio . . . Minidio . . . Cornelio*: These men cannot be identified with any persons otherwise known to us. The *nomina* Aurelius and Cornelius were of course common under the republic, but the *gens Minidia* is elsewhere known, so far as I am aware, only from a tombstone found at Ostia (CIL. 14, 1356), and presumably of the imperial period. There is no MS. evidence for the reading *Numisio* substituted in our passage by Schneider, Stratico, and some earlier editors in order to identify the colleague of Vitruvius with the architect of the theatre of Herculaneum (CIL. 10, 1446).

4. *ad apparationem . . . fui praesto*: For the meaning and the syntax

---

where Vitruvius has the verb five times in the literal sense of "bring together" (33, 5; 43, 10; 158, 12; 168, 14; 280, 11); once meaning "compare" (157, 13); and once each in the common phrases *se conferre* (105, 26) and *sermonem conferre* (218, 7).

<sup>40</sup> Our passage is not included here, but is wrongly, as I believe, placed under the lemma "potestatem, honores, sim. deferre" (182, 30).

of *praesto* with *ad* and accusative, cf. Cic. Fam. 4, 8, 1, *ad omnia quae tui velint ita sim praesto*; Deiot. 24, *non solum ad hospitium sed ad periculum etiam atque ad aciem praesto fuit*; and for *ad* with the gerundive, Cic. Caec. 29. While Vitruvius does not distinctly say that he was appointed to any particular post in the army of Octavian, it is natural to think that he and the other three men whom he mentions were *praefecti fabrum*. The office of *praefectus fabrum* later became a very high one (something like that of engineer in chief to a great modern army), and among its duties was the supervision of those *qui arma, vehicula, ceteraque genera tormentorum vel nova facerent vel quassata repararent* (Veget. 2, 11), a passage the latter part of which recalls Vitruvius's description of the functions which he was ready to perform. But that such a functionary accompanied the smaller detached armies of the republic is clear from Cic. Fam. 3, 7, 4, *Q. Leptam, praefectum fabrum meum*. Sometimes there were more than one; cf. Caesar ap. Cic. Att. 9, 7, C, 2, *duo praefecti fabrum Pompei in meam potestatem venerunt*. Further information about such officers is given by Marquardt (Röm. Staatsv. 2, 516), and by Mommsen (Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 120; 2, 98).

5. *refectionem*: Syntactically this word seems to belong only with *scorpionum reliquorumque tormentorum*, and therefore Vitruvius, strictly taken, does not say that he was ready to repair *ballistae*, or to supply *scorpiones* and other *tormenta*. But I can hardly believe that he was really such a specialist, and I fancy that in his eagerness to produce the fine example of chiasmic order displayed in *apparationem . . . refectionem*, he overlooked the exact sense. Hence I have taken a liberty in my translation. Still it may be observed that in the tenth book (269, 10, *ipse faciundo*) Vitruvius speaks of his practical experience in constructing *ballistae* and that he does not say anywhere that he ever made other kinds of artillery. For *refectio* in the literal sense of "repair," cf. 140, 21, and Columella, 12, 3, 9; also in inscriptions, cf. Olcott, Studies in Word Formation, 28. For *apparatio*, cf. 54, 5; 124, 21; Cic. Off. 2, 56.

6. *commoda accepi*: To discover the meaning of the word *commoda* here is important, because upon it and the next two sentences is based the commonly accepted view that Vitruvius, when he wrote this preface, was in retirement, and some have gone so far as to translate *commoda* by "pension." I am not aware that its meaning has ever been thoroughly studied, and I do not find the word treated in the books on military antiquities. Let us therefore examine the different ways in which it is employed. Three may be distinguished. In the first place, *commoda* is used of the emoluments, allowances, or advantages which

civil or military officers, or certain public slaves, received while still in service or working. It is thus applied to a quaestor by Cicero, Red. in Sen. 35, *Plancius qui omnibus provincialibus ornamentis commodisque depositis totam suam quaesturam in me sustentando et conservando collocavit*. And again of a military tribune, Fam. 7, 8, 1, *sum admiratus cur tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae, contempseris* (in this case Caesar had apparently offered Trebatius a military tribuneship, with exemption from duties). Frontinus in his work on the Roman aqueducts describes (116 ff.) the two gangs of public slaves employed upon them; one was the *familia publica*, the other the *familia Caesaris*. Then he goes on (119): *commoda publicae familiae ex aerario dantur . . . Caesaris familia ex fisco accipit commoda*. Here the word *commoda* is not equivalent to our "wages," which are paid at regular short intervals, but it seems to denote an annual lump sum given to these public slaves every year.<sup>41</sup> And in the case of the quaestor and the tribune mentioned by Cicero, the word does not mean "pay," for we know that officials and officers of these and the higher ranks were not, in republican times, paid what we understand by salaries. Instead, they got free quarters and transport, rations, their outfit or a lump sum covering it (*vasarium*), certain rights of requisitioning for necessities when in the provinces, and officers on the staff or in the employ of higher magistrates expected to receive from them, or from the treasury, good service rewards in the way of "gratifications" or free gifts (*congiaria, beneficia*) which also seem to have been paid annually in a lump sum.<sup>42</sup> It was "*chommoda*" of this or any other sort<sup>43</sup> for which Arrius was looking when he went out on the staff of Crassus to Syria (Catullus 84). In the second place, *commoda* is used in the sense of some form of gratuity presented to soldiers on their retirement from service. So in the letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony (Cic. Fam. 11, 2, 3): *ea re denuntiatur esse veteranis quod de commodis eorum mense Iunio laturus esses*; and probably the word has this meaning in Cicero himself, L. A. 2, 54, *putant si quam spem in Cn. Pompeio exercitus habeat aut agrorum aut aliorum commodorum*. Suetonius certainly thus employs it several times: cf. Aug. 49, *quidquid autem ubique militum esset ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam adstrinxit, definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis*

<sup>41</sup> Mommsen, Staatsrecht,<sup>2</sup> 1, 323; cf. 299, n. 2.

<sup>42</sup> On all this see Mommsen, ib., 294-300, and on *commoda tribunatus*, 300, n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> No doubt it covered a good deal of what we now call "graft."

*missionum*; Cal. 44, *commoda emeritae militiae*; Nero 32, *commoda veteranorum*; Vit. 15, *veteranorum iustaeque militiae commoda*. See also an African inscription (CIL. 8, 792): *P. Ennius T. F. Epilli N. Quir. Paccianus commodis acceptis ex leg. II Aug. ab imp. Domitiano Caesare Aug. Ger. cos. VIII*. These gratuities, though not mentioned in the books on Roman military antiquities under the name *commoda*, do appear in such books under the name *praemia*, and this indeed is the term employed by Augustus in the Monumentum Ancyranum 3, 31 ff.: *militibus quos emeritis stipendis in sua municipia remisi praemia numerato persolvi* (cf. also 3, 37). And Suetonius combines the two words in Aug. 24, *alias (legiones) immodeste missionem postulantibus citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum exauctoravit* (cf. also Aug. 49, cited just above). There is no evidence that these *commoda* or *praemia* ever took the form of a stipend paid annually or at more frequent intervals like our military pensions. A lump sum paid at the time of discharge is what is meant by them,<sup>44</sup> and we know that Augustus gave 5000 denarii to praetorians and 3000 denarii to legionaries (Dio C. 55, 23; cf. Suet. Aug. 49, *certam praemiorum formulam*, more fully cited above). It is also well known that Augustus (at least in his earlier period) had distributed lands to retiring soldiers; cf. Mon. Anc. 1, 19, *iis omnibus agros aut pecuniam pro praediis dedi*; and Dio C. 54, 25, διέταξε τὰ τε ἔτη ὅσα οἱ πολῖται στρατεύουσιντο, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅσα πανσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀπὲρ τῆς χώρας ἦν αἰεὶ ποτε ἦσαν, λήψουσιντο. This statement by Dio is made of the year 741 (13 B. C.), after which time Mommsen<sup>45</sup> thought that Augustus determined to recompense his discharged soldiers in money. Finally there is no evidence that *commoda* in this sense were given to retired officers of higher grades, though we may readily imagine that centurions and lower officers received them. We come now to the third usage of the word *commoda*, still somewhat technical, but approaching more closely to the very common general meaning of "advantages" than does either of the other two. In this usage it denotes special "privileges," and perhaps it does not occur in republican Latin. But it comes out in Suetonius, Aug. 31, *sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virginum*. Such privileges might include public land or money.<sup>46</sup> In another place Suetonius

<sup>44</sup> Mommsen, *Res. Gestae Aug.*, 9 and 67; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.*,<sup>2</sup> 1, 122; 2, 564.

<sup>45</sup> *Res. Gestae Aug.*, 9 and 65.

<sup>46</sup> Marquardt, *Staatsv.*,<sup>2</sup> 2, 80 f.; 3, 223 ff. For *commoda* in this usage in inscriptions, cf. CIL., 6, 971 (a *collegium victimariorum* in the time of Hadrian), and CIL., 6, 955.

himself makes clear what privileges he means; cf. Cl. 18 f., *naves mercaturae causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit pro condicione cuiusque: civi vacationem legis Papiae Poppaeae, Latino ius Quiritium, feminis ius IIII liberorum*. Ovid seems to be aware of this sense of *commoda* when in his account of the rape of the Sabine women (A. A. 1, 131) he jestingly exclaims: *Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus! Haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero*. And Juvenal in his sixteenth satire speaks of the privileges of a military career (the civilian won't venture to strike the soldier whom *esprit de corps* protects; the soldier is not subject to the delays of law courts; he can make a will while his father is alive), and he calls these privileges once *commoda* (7) and twice *praemia* (1 and 35). In another satire (9, 89) Juvenal uses *commoda* of the privileges of the *ius trium liberorum*. Now out of these three distinct usages of *commoda*, which does Vitruvius employ in our preface? What he received was something substantial, for in the next sentence but one he says that it relieved him from the fear of poverty for the rest of his life. We have no evidence that *commoda* in the third sense of "privileges" would apply to his case; but in its first and second senses it might apply. For while he was in active service he may have received *commoda* of the first kind which I have mentioned, that is emoluments or allowances, and perhaps also good service rewards; cf. Cic. Fam. 5, 20, 7, *quod scribis de beneficiis*,<sup>47</sup> *scito a me et tribunos militaris et praefectos et contubernalis dumtaxat meos delatos esse*. We do not know at all how much money or land was given as a good service reward to any officer, but it seems improbable that a functionary so humble as Vitruvius would have received much. And so perhaps, when the general peace was made, Octavian bestowed upon him *commoda* of the second kind, a good service reward in the form of a retiring gratuity (although, as I have said, we have no evidence that such was given to any except common soldiers), or he may have continued him in office without any actual duties, just as Julius Caesar offered a sinecure tribuneship to Trebatius. And the word *primo* in the next sentence in Vitruvius shows that he had received *commoda* more than once. But obviously all this is pure speculation. The word *commoda* in itself does not tell us whether Vitruvius had retired or not; therefore it cannot be rendered by "pay" or "emoluments"; or by "pension," for this implies the modern practice of paying a stipend at regular intervals. The trans-

<sup>47</sup> It is perhaps a mere coincidence that Vitruvius uses this same word just below: *eo beneficio obligatus* (2, 8). On *beneficia*, see Mommsen, Staatsr.,<sup>2</sup> 2, 1126, n. 1.



lator must select a word or phrase which will cover all the contingencies, and hence I have selected "rewards for good service."

*primo*: "for the first time," "originally." So in 209, 25, *cum primo aqua a capite inmittitur*; 36, 2, *cum ergo haec ita fuerint primo constituta*.

7. *cum tribuisti . . . servasti*: these two verbs do not denote coincidence of action, but here, as well as in three other passages in Vitruvius (50, 12; 59, 26; 157, 2), we have the perfect indicative in both parts of a sentence, the protasis of which is a survival of the old indicative narrative *cum*-clause. On such sentence, see Hale, The *cum*-construction, 204 ff., where he cites the same combination occurring, for instance, in Caes. B. C. 3, 87, 7; Bell. Hisp. 18, 2; Galba ap. Cic. Fam. 10, 30, 4.

*recognitionem*: This is a rare word, and it occurs first in Vitruvius. Paucker (*Meletemata Altera*, 48) cites only Livy for it, and Cooper in his *Sermo P. bebius* (4 ff.) does not include it in the list of the ninety-four abstracts in *-tio* which Vitruvius added to the Latin language. It is not found in Cicero <sup>48</sup> (though he added hundreds of such abstracts) nor in Caesar. Our study of its meaning must begin with the remark that it seems never to signify a "recognition" in the modern sense of an acknowledgment of a person's services, standing, or the like. Neither does it mean "favor" ("Gewogenheit," Reber). In the other sense in which we use "recognition," that is, to denote a "knowing again" of somebody whom we have known before, it is found twice in Latin, — both times in that form of the well-known story of Androcles and the lion as it is related by Gellius; cf. Index Capit. 5, 14, *recognitionem inter se mutuam ex vetere notitia hominis et leonis*; and 5, 14, 14, *tum quasi mutua recognitione facta*. This meaning of the substantive is found also in the verb *recognosco*; cf. Cic. Fam. 12, 12, 1, and T. D. 1, 57; and particularly Livy 5, 16, 7, *receptis agrorum suorum spoliis Romam revertuntur. Biduum ad recognoscendas res datum dominis; tertio incognita sub hasta venire*. But it is at once clear that this meaning of *recognition* will not suit the passage in Vitruvius, where there is no question of the renewal of an acquaintance between him and Augustus. We must therefore seek another meaning, and we find at once that, except in Gellius, it conveys but one idea, — that of an investigation, inspection, or review. Thus Livy has it in 42, 19, 1, *per recognitionem Postumi consulis magna pars agri Campani recuperata in publicum erat* (cf. 42, 1, 6, *senatus placuit L. Postumium consulem ad agrum publicum a privato*

<sup>48</sup> Unless the reading of inferior codd. be accepted in Verr., 4, 110.

*terminandum in Campaniam ire*). Similarly of an inspection of clothing and tools in Col. 11, 1, 21, and of the *equites* in Suet. Claud. 16. Seneca has it of self-examination (*recognitionem sui*, Ira 3, 36, 2). The elder Pliny, in his celebrated account of the habits of ants (N. H. 11, 109), says that they have regular times on which they meet and inspect together the stock which they have gathered: *et quoniam ex diverso convehunt altera alterius ignara, certi dies ad recognitionem mutuam nundinis dantur*. Here the context shows that *recognitionem* does not mean a recognition of the ants by each other, and as ants live a community life it does not signify the identification or "knowing again" of individual property, as in the Livian passage (5, 16, 7) already quoted. This same idea of an investigation or inquiry survived in low Latin; cf. Du Cange (ed. Favre) s. v., where we find that the word was used in charters to denote inquiries into cases of disputed lands (cf. Livy 42, 19, 1, quoted above). These are the only meanings of *recognitio* which I have found in ancient Latin. Although Vitruvius does not use the word elsewhere, yet he has the participle *recognoscentes* once (213, 11), where, after speaking of the useful discoveries made by great men, he adds: *quae recognoscentes necessario his tribui honores oportere homines confitebuntur*, "on reviewing these discoveries, people will admit that honors ought to be bestowed upon them." In this sense, *recognosco*, though a less technical word, is often a synonym of *recenseo*, as a glance at any good lexicon will show. This is well illustrated by Columella, 11, 1, 20, *tum etiam per ferias instrumentum rusticum (vilicus) recognoscat et saepius inspiciat ferraamenta* as compared with 11, 1, 21, *tam vestem servitorum quam, ut dixi, ferraamenta bis debet singulis mensibus recensere. Nam frequens recognitio nec impunitatis spem nec peccandi locum praebet*. Now in the passage in our preface, to what does *recognitio* refer? Obviously to *commoda*, for Vitruvius says: "after originally bestowing these upon me, you continued (*servasti*, see below) your *recognitio*" — which can only mean "your *recognitio* of these *commoda*." It is natural to suppose that the Roman ruler reviewed or revised at intervals the list of persons who were receiving *commoda*, and that at such times suggestions for additions to the list might be made. Persons whose names were in the list might well be described as *recogniti*, just as *recensi* was used of persons in the list of those who received corn at the public cost; cf. Suet. Caes. 41, *in demortuorum locum ex iis qui recensi non essent*. And the act of setting a name in the list would thus, by a slight extension of meaning, be expressed by the word *recognitio*. But as Vitruvius had at some earlier time (*primo*) received *commoda*, the act in his case was a renewal, and this to his mind may have been further indicated by the



prefix *re-* in *recognitio*, especially as contrasted with *primo*. And we may perhaps also compare the common phrase found in the diplomata of discharged soldiers: *descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea*, etc. (Dessau, *Inscr. Lat.* 1, 1986 ff). Our whole sentence, then, may best be rendered: "After your first bestowal of these upon me, you continued to renew them on the recommendation of your sister."

*commendationem*: cf. Cic. Cat. 1, 28, *hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione maiorum*. The word is used elsewhere three times by Vitruvius: 31, 9; 32, 26; 63, 11.

*sororis*: Octavia, the sister of Augustus, died in 11 B. C. (Liv. Per. 140; Dio C. 54, 35). We know that she had influence with her brother; cf. her successful appeal for the proscribed husband of Tanusia (Dio C. 47, 7). A book was dedicated to her by Athenodorus, son of Sandon (cf. Plut. Popl. 17, Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Σάνδωνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ὀκταωνίαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἀδελφῇν. See also Gardthausen, *Aug. u. seine Zeit*, 1, 217. In regard to the theory that Vitruvius wrote under Titus, it may be remarked that he also had a sister, Domitilla, but that she died before Vespasian came to the throne (Suet. Vesp. 3), and consequently before Titus attained to much power.

*servasti*: "you continued." For this meaning cf. Caes. B. C. 3, 89, 1, *superius institutum servans* (so also 3, 84, 3, and 75, 2); Cic. Clu. 89, *ut consuetudinem servem*. Similarly in Vitruvius 240, 21, *servat administrationem*; "keeps the works going," etc. This use of *servo* is not found elsewhere in Vitruvius, who happens to employ it, except in these two passages, only in connection with concrete things (*poma*, 16, 20; *fructus*, 145, 20; *frumenta*, 147, 23; *structuras*, 53, 11; *crassitudo*, 75, 19; *cavo*, 47, 11).

8. *beneficio*: It is true that this word may possibly convey here the technical sense of Cic. Fam. 5, 20, 7 (see above, p. 169 and note 47); but as Vitruvius elsewhere employs it only generally (85, 11; 133, 15; 151, 11), I render it by "favor," which fits both usages.

9. *haec tibi scribere coepi*: "I began to write this work for you." Here *haec* refers to the *De Architectura* as now fully completed, not to Vitruvius's preliminary collections (see above on *scripta et explicata*, 1, 7). For this preface was written,<sup>49</sup> or at least professes to have been written, after the whole treatise was finished. The dative *tibi* is supported by Cic. Top. 4, *cum tu mihi meisque multo saepe scripsisses*, although *ad* and the accusative seems to be commoner in dedica-

<sup>49</sup> Mommsen's expression, to the contrary (*Res. Gestae Augusti*, 81), seems to me very strange. If Sontheimer's theory (see above, note 18) be adopted, perhaps we should translate: "I set about dedicating this work to you."

tions; cf. Cic. Att. 14, 20, 3, *cum scripsissem ad eum de optimo genere dicendi*; so Lael. 4 (*scriptus ad te*); Off. 1, 4. The work was intended, Vitruvius says here, for the personal use of his patron, to assist him in the ways indicated by lines 10–16. But another reason is given in 160, 6 ff., namely the lack of writings on architecture in the Latin language.

10. *te aedificavisse et nunc aedificare*: among the important early buildings of Octavian which Vitruvius may have in mind are the *aedes divi Iuli* (cf. 70, 18), begun in 42 B. C. and finished at least as early as the year 37, when it appears on coins;<sup>50</sup> and the *curia Iulia*, projected by Julius Caesar and dedicated by Octavian in 29 (Dio C. 51, 22). Other buildings of course had been planned, and some of them may have been finished before Vitruvius published his work.<sup>51</sup>

*animadverti . . . te . . . curam habiturum*: Schneider found fault with the use of the fut. inf. with the verb *animadverto* and thought that some such word as *spero* or *confido* had dropped out in the latter part of this long sentence. But Vitruvius has the future also in 32, 7, *animadverto fore ut*, etc.; and cf. Cic. Div. 1, 112, *animadverterat olearum ubertatem fore*.

12. *tradantur*: the emendation of Schneider; *traderentur*, codd. The error, as Rose suggests in his second edition, may be due to the preceding *gestarum*.

13. *conscripsi*: "I have composed," "drawn up"; cf. the Thesaurus, s. v., 375, 36, under the lemma "scribendo componere, litteris mandare." It seems unlikely that this word ever means "compile" in Vitruvius. It might possibly have this meaning in 218, 14, *his auctoribus fretus sensibus eorum adhibitis et consiliis ea volumina conscripsi*; but this is improbable in view of all the other passages in which it appears (5, 28; 134, 7; 142, 7; 151, 20; 159, 21), and of the use of *conscripio*, "treatise," three times (103, 14; 104, 4; 155, 10). Cf. also Cic. Top. 5, *itaque haec, cum mecum libros non haberem, memoria repetita in ipsa navigatione conscripsi tibi ex itinere misi*; Verr. 2, 122, *leges conscribere*; Brut. 46, *praecepta conscribere* (and so Vit. 5, 28; 159, 21).

*praescriptiones terminatas*: "definite rules"; cf. "bestimmte Vorschriften" (Reber). Vitruvius always uses *praescriptio* in this sense: cf. 62, 8; 121, 23; 204, 13; 280, 10. In all these passages he promises success to those who follow the "rules." See also his use of the verb *praescribo* in 5, 19, and 83, 17; also Cic. Acad. 2, 140, *praescriptionem*

<sup>50</sup> Mommsen, *ibid.*, 80.

<sup>51</sup> See Mommsen, *ibid.*, 79–82, and Sontheimer, 120.

*naturae*; T. D. 4, 22, *praescriptione rationis*. The verb *termino* appears in only one other place in Vitruvius, 64, 20, *terminavi finitionibus*, "I have defined the limits"; but cf. Cic. Fin. 1, 46, *ipsa natura divitias . . . et parabiles et terminatas*. Further light on the meaning of the verb may be got from the use of the substantive *terminatio*, which occurs thirteen times in Vitruvius. In five of these it means "limits" (36, 24, *finire terminationibus*, cf. 64, 20, *terminavi finitionibus* just quoted above; 28, 8; 67, 20; 112, 6; 113, 21); "end" in 103, 13; "terminating point," 135, 21; "boundary," 203, 5; 232, 2; "departments," 12, 8; "extremities," 111, 2; "rules" or "laws," 155, 16; "scope," 32, 28.

16. *disciplinae*: "art," used of architecture in 133, 26; 160, 9; of other arts in 6, 20; 10, 11, and 14; 36, 6; 224, 23.

#### TRANSLATION.

While your divine intelligence and will, Emperor Caesar, were engaged in acquiring the right to command the world, and while your fellow citizens, when all their enemies had been laid low by your invincible valor, were glorying in your triumph and victory, — while all foreign nations were in subjection awaiting your beck and call, and the Roman people and senate, released from their alarm, were beginning to be guided by your most noble conceptions and policies, I hardly dared, in view of your serious employments, to publish my writings and long considered ideas on architecture, for fear of subjecting myself to your displeasure by an unseasonable interruption. But when I saw that you were giving your attention not only to the welfare of society in general and to the establishment of public order, but also to the providing of public buildings intended for utilitarian purposes, so that not only should the State have been enriched with provinces by your means, but that the greatness of its power might likewise be attended with distinguished authority in its public buildings, I thought that I ought to take the first opportunity to lay before you my writings on this theme. For in the first place it was this subject which made me known to your father, to whom I was devoted on account of his great qualities. After the council of heaven gave him a place in the dwellings of immortal life and transferred your father's power to your hands, my devotion continuing unchanged as I remembered him inclined me to support you. And so with Marcus Aurelius, Publius Minidius, and Gnaeus Cornelius, I was ready to supply and repair ballistae, scorpiones, and other artillery, and I have received rewards for good service with them. After your first be-

stowal of these upon me, you continued to renew them on the recommendation of your sister.

Owing to this favor I need have no fear of want to the end of my life, and being thus laid under obligation I began to write this work for you, because I saw that you have built and are now building extensively, and that in future also you will take care that our public and private buildings shall be worthy to go down to posterity by the side of your other splendid achievements. I have drawn up definite rules to enable you, by observing them, to have personal knowledge of the quality both of existing buildings and of those which are yet to be constructed. For in the following books I have disclosed all the principles of the art.



